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Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. HELMS. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

AMENDMENT NO. 877

(Purpose: Voice of America broadcasts in Kurdish)

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PELL] proposes an amendment numbered 877.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment is as follows:

At the appropriate place in the bill, add the following new section:

Section 234 is amended by striking subsections (b), (c), (d), and (e) and inserting in lieu thereof the following—

(b) BROADCASTS IN KURDISH.—As soon as practicable, but not later than six months after the date of enactment of this Act, the Director of the United States Information Agency shall establish, through the Voice of America, a service to provide Kurdish language programming to the Kurdish people. Consistent with the mission and practice of the Voice of America, these broadcasts in Kurdish shall include news and information on events that affect the Kurdish people.

(c) AMOUNT OF PROGRAMMING.—As soon as practicable but not later than one year after enactment, the Voice of America Kurdish language programming pursuant to this section shall be broadcast for not less than one hour each day.

(d) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.—In addition to funds otherwise available under Section 231 of this Act, there are authorized to be appropriated to the Voice of America for purposes of carrying out this section $1,000,000 for fiscal year 1992 and $1,000,000 for fiscal year 1993.

(e) PLAN FOR A KURDISH LANGUAGE SERVICE.—Not later than three months after enactment of this Act, the Director of the United States Information Agency shall submit to the Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and to the Speaker of the House of Representatives a report on progrsss make toward implementation of this section.

(f) HIRE OF KURDISH LANGUAGE SPEAKERS.—In order to expedite the commencement of Kurdish language broadcasts, the Director of the United States Information Agency is authorized to hire, subject to the availability of appropriations, Kurdish language speakers on a contract not to exceed one year without regard to competitive and other procedures that might delay such hiring.

(g) SURROGATE HOME SERVICE.—Not later than one year after the date of enactment of this Act, the Chairman of the Board for International Broadcasting shall submit to the Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and the Speaker of the House of Representatives a plan, together with a detailed budget, for the establishment of a surrogate home service under the auspices of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty for the Kurdish people. Such surrogate home service for the Kurdish people shall broadcast not less than two hours a day.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, this amendment accommodates the USIA about a program in the bill which I authored to require VOA broadcasts in Kurdish. It provides a separate authorization for it. USIA told me it supports the amendment and supports the establishment of a VOA Kurdish broadcast, and we will work to get such broadcast on the air quickly if this legislation passes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there debate?

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, the amendment before us modifies a provision adopted in the Foreign Relations Committee. It has a noble purpose. It creates a broadcasting service in the Kurdish language within USIA; $1 million is authorized for fiscal year 1992 and $1.5 million in 1993 to create this program.

For the record, Mr. President, the Kurdish people already are served by broadcasts in languages that all Kurds speak: Turkish, Farsi, and Arabic. Chairman PELL's amendment is another cost associated with the gulf war.

But since Saddam Hussein remains in power in Iraq, the amendment is an attempt to provide broadcasts to the Kurdish people, for whom that dictator has been such a curse. U.S. Armed Forces have done what they could to help the Kurds recover from the his savage attacks.

This amendment is an attempt to build a relationship with the Kurds over a longer term. We certainly have no objection to the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there further debate?

If there be no further debate, the question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment (No. 877) was agreed to.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote.

Mr. HELMS. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

AMENDMENT NO. 878

(Purpose: To express the sense of the Congress concerning human rights abuses in East Timor)

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk on behalf of Senator WALLOP, Senator KERRY, Senator MOYNIHAN, Senator SIMON, Senator LEVIN, Senator DURENBERGER, and myself, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PELL], for himself, Mr. WALLOP, Mr. KERRY, Mr. MOYNIHAN, Mr. SIMON, Mr. LEVIN, Mr. DURENBERGER, and himself, proposes an amendment numbered 878.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment is as follows:

At the appropriate place in the bill, add the following new section:

SEC. .

(a) FINDINGS.—The Congress finds that—

(1) at least 100,000 individuals out of a population of nearly 700,000 perished in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor between 1975 and 1980, as a result of war-related killings, famine, and disease following the invasion of that territory by Indonesia;

(2) Amnesty International and other international human rights organizations continue to report evidence in East Timor of human rights violations, including torture, arbitrary arrest, and repression of freedom of expression;

(3) serious medical, nutritional, and humanitarian problems persist in East Timor;

(4) a state of conflict continues to exist in East Timor; and,

(5) the governments of Portugal and Indonesia have conducted discussions since 1982 under the auspices of the United Nations to find an internationally acceptable solution to the East Timor conflict;

(b) STATEMENT OF POLICY.—It is the sense of the Congress that—

(1) the President should urge the Government of Indonesia to take action to end all forms of human rights violations in East Timor and to permit full freedom of expression in East Timor;

(2) the President should encourage the Government of Indonesia to facilitate the work of international human rights organizations and other groups seeking to monitor human rights conditions in East Timor and to cooperate with international humanitarian relief and development organizations seeking to work in East Timor; and,

(3) that the administration should work with the United Nations and the governments of Indonesia, Portugal, and other involved parties to develop policies to address the underlying causes of the conflict in East Timor.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, this amendment expresses the sense of the Congress concerning human rights abuses in East Timor, a former Portuguese colony which was invaded by Indonesia in 1975.

The amendment calls on the President to urge the Indonesian Government to end all forms of human rights abuses in East Timor, to facilitate the work of international human rights groups seeking to monitor conditions there, and to cooperate with international humanitarian relief and development organizations.

Last New Year's Eve, the Indonesian-appointed Governor of East Timor observed that unlike international efforts to expel Iraq from Kuwait, no one wanted to come to the rescue of East Timor. This resolution attempts to rectify this cynical view of the international community's concerns. While we are not advocating Indonesia's expulsion from East Timor, we are reminding Indonesians that they have international responsibilities to respect the human rights of the East Timorese, improve their qual-

ity of life, and resolve the ongoing conflict there in a peaceful fashion.

I believe this amendment has been cleared on both sides of the aisle.

During his 1989 visit to Indonesia which included East Timor, a mainly Roman Catholic nation, Pope John Paul II stated:

At times nations are tempted to disregard fundamental human rights in a misguided search for political unity based on military or economic power alone. But such unity can easily be dissolved.

I request unanimous consent that an article which appeared on April 7, 1991, in the London Observer entitled "Secret Killing of a Nation," be included in the RECORD following my remarks. It gives a detailed description of East Timor's troubled past and troubled present.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the London Observer, Apr. 7, 1991]

SECRET KILLING OF A NATION

(By Hugh O'Shaughnessy)

For the children of the orphanage outside Dili, the scrappy little town which serves as the capital of occupied East Timor, the jungle is a nightmare.

"They told how they slept by day and ran, ran, ran by night," said a young woman who cares for them, "sometimes stepping on the squelching bodies of the wounded who had to be left to die.

"I committed a terrible mistake one morning," said the woman, whom I shall call Maria Jose "I thought we'd play hide and seek to amuse the children. Amelia, aged five, and I hid from the matron. I told her to keep quiet and not move a muscle. But she thought she was back in the jungle and on the run again. She started screaming and sobbing. It took me an hour to calm her down again."

The horrors of a war of extermination bite deep into the memories of children, especially those who have fled into the forest with their parents to escape the Indonesians. But East Timor is an entire country in shock. After 15 years of occupation by Indonesian troops and deaths of perhaps 200,000 people, one-third of the Timorese population, 60-year-olds are resigned to life of terror, five-year-olds are petrified. The young, however, are frightened—but defiant.

"Now the U.N. has got Saddam Hussein our of Kuwait, when are they coming to help us get the Indonesians out of occupied East Timor?" As dusk came down on misty green paddy fields at a secret rendezvous several hours' drive from Dili, Aurélio and his three resistance companions, all in their twenties, were in sardonic mood as they met their first Western journalist.

Fifteen years resisting illegal Indonesian occupation after their country was in effect abandoned in 1975 by its Portuguese colonial masters, has taught 600,000 Timorese that some United Nations Security Council resolutions are more equal than others. Those passed against an expansionist Iraq bring a quick and terrible response: those that demand action against a large and important Western ally such as the Indonesia of General Suharto receive more leisurely attention.

The scepticism of Aurélio and his companions, however, is tempered by the fact that after a decade and a half of international isolation and draconian censorship they are finding ways of breaching a wall of silence. My visit was one of their first opportunities to tell the world, in their own words, of suffering and resistance which the International Committee of the Red Cross compared, more than a decade ago, to that of Biafra and Cambodia. Events since have become yet more sombre. As war in the Gulf subsidies, the facts about an ordeal much more serious than that suffered by the Kuwaitis is emerging.

Meanwhile, against crushing odds, the ragged few hundred guerrillas of the grandly named Falintil, the Armed Forces of National Liberation of Timor, and the underground network that sustains them, fight on.

By all logic, Timorese resistance should have been wiped out. For every East Timorese there are nearly 300 Indonesians; for every badly-equipped Falintil rifleman there are hundreds of Indonesian troops supported by artillery, fighters, bombers, helicopters and enough ships to prevent any single piece of military equipment reaching the resistance.

The Falintil continues to challenge the Indonesians, however, in the jungles and scrub under the leadership of its commander, shadowy and elusive Xanana Gusmão, whose capture is feverishly being sought this month by 10 Indonesian battalions.

Bare survival is the least of Falintil's problems. "The difference between Falintil and us in the town is that we have to pay for our food," said Armando jokingly. A former member of the Portuguese army with jungle experience who now drives a bus in Dili, he said: "The forest is full of food—fruit, roots, birds, deer. No one starves."

As the Indonesians slowly become more expert in anti-guerrilla operations. Xanana's war, as he himself admits, is increasingly a defensive one. But at times his men dispatch a few of the enemy: 10 coffins, each draped with the Indonesian flag, were loaded onto the plane at Dili airport last month.

In the first days of Timorese resistance to the Indonesian invaders the nucleus of the guerillas was mainly local troops trained by the Portuguese, who brought their own weapons and ammunition left by Lisbon's representatives. Today the arms must come from the Indonesian army. "The Falintil pay a bit more than £100 for a rifle, about the same for a box of grenades or ammunition," one senior Timorese said in Dili.

"Suharto's army is riddled with corruption. Sale of arms is well organised and profits are well distributed among troops and officers. Corruption is systematic. The army often forces villagers to buy petrol. Then they seize it back and accuse them of theft. Sometimes the villagers find the drums are just full of water anyway."

The military run a trading company, Denok, which buys cheap in Timor and sells dear in Indonesia. Indonesian generals have few accounting strategems to learn from the Irangate plotters or General Pinochet's army swindlers in Chile. Despite army corruption, however, the Falintil is desperately short of weapons. "Every bullet has to find its mark," said Estévão, a former bodyguard of Xanana.

The Falintil is nevertheless backed by increasingly stubborn opposition ot the invaders among East Timorese civilians, particularly, perhaps, among young Timorese such as Aurélio and his comrades who have no memory of anything but occupation. A majority, it seems, back Fretilin, the Revolutionary Front of East Timor, which in November 1975 declared independence in East Timor—a fateful freedom that lasted no more than the seven days it took for Indonesia to invade.

Timorese chances of success, though still alim, are bolstered by a slowly growing consciousness in the outside world of their plight. This is being built upon by a Portuguese government which has tardily acknowledged it bears much responsibility for the Timorese mess, and is now seeking to win Timorese self-determinaion through diplomacy. Next year, when Portugal will be in the powerful position of occupying the European Community presidency for six months, promises to be a particularly tough time for Indonesian diplomats.

The Timorese ordeal began on 7 December 1975. Taking advantage of political chaos in Portugal, which was in the midst of its own revolution, the Indonesian dictator, General Suharto, sent in his troops to take over the remote colony Portugal had stumbled on in the sixteenth century and had fought over with the Dutch for its precious aromatic sandalwood.

In 1975, with most of the sandalwood cut down, Lisbon's revolutionaries were eager to be shot of the eastern half of the island Portugal was left with. Breaking assurances by Indonesian Foreign Minister Adam Malik, then a leading figure of the Non-Aligned Movement, Suharto flooded East Timor with troops. Jakarta suddenly started arguing that the young radicals of the Fretilin with their advanced Portuguese ideas were a threat to Indonesia.

Lest the world should hear about the massacres, the Indonesian army killed two British journalists, two Australians and a New Zealander and threw the Red Cross out of East Timor. Visitors were expelled and rigorously kept out for 15 years.

Suharto's *coup de main* was immediately condemned by the UN Security Council and General Assembly. The West, however, anxious not to upset a trenchantly conservative and strategically important regime which had come to power in 1965 in a putsch in which a million Communists and other left-wingers were killed, sat back.

The Australians assured Jakarta that Canberra would not protest. The invasion took place the day after US President Gerald Ford and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger flew out of the Indonesian capital.

The Timorese, outnumbered and isolated, were not, however, willing go down without a fight. Used to lax government from distant Lisbon by Portuguese who controlled the country, in so far as they controlled it at all, through local chieftains, the Timorese baulked at centralised government by the Javanese in Jakarta.

Dark-skinned, curly-haired and more akin to South Seas peoples than those of the East Indies, Timorese resented the close racial domination of the lighter-skinned, straight-haired Javanese. Bitter religious differences also developed.

When the Portuguese left, a third of Timorese were Christians. The stand the local Catholic Church took against Indonesian atrocities brought more conversions, which were further bolstered by Suharto's own decree that all Indonesians should profess some religion.

Today, the overwhelming majority of Timorese are Catholics, struggling against the world's largest Muslim state. Churches are packed.

The toll this struggle has taken is horrific. Speaking as long ago as 1977, Malik said, "50,000 or perhaps 80,000 might have been killed. It was war . . . Then what's the big fuss?" In 1979, Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, then Indonesia's Foreign Minister, admitted 120,000 had died. Today the total is incalculable, certainly about 200,000, or about one in three East Timorese. Some were killed in battle, some died in concentration camps

to which Indonesians herded the peasants whose villages they destroyed. Some starved, others died of war-borne epidemics.

Indonesians have stopped at nothing to control of what they insist is now a province of Indonesia. "A company of Indonesian troops captured this 17-year-old girl," one priest told me in Dili. "They repreatedly raped her, cut off her breasts and put one in each hand, cut off her private parts and stuffed them in her mouth and left her corpse for the rest to see."

Outside Laleia, Xanana's village birthplace, a Timorese offered to dig up the remains of 17 victims of Indonesian troops buried in a common grave. The presence of army patrols prevented the operation but existence of the grave, one of many, was confirmed by highly reliable sources.

Although General Suharto, still ruling after 26 years, recently decided finally to open East Timor to foreign visitors in a bid to demonstrate "normality", the Indonesian army is stepping up the pressure.

At the quayside in Dili the giant tank-landing ship, Teluk Bone, closed its huge bow doors and slowly pulled away, watched by a few Indonesian women and a silent crowd of watching Timorese. The next day a sister ship, whose signal lamp had been winking across the harbour the previous night, docked with fresh troops for battle. In the highly militarised town Indonesian forces buzz about in heavy trucks and smart British Land-Rovers, occupying scores of barracks and private houses.

In other, unmarked houses a growing number of civilian prisoners are detained and tortured, common practice since 1975. Indonesians torturers, have so to speak, carved a niche for themselves in refined use of the razor on human flesh.

At a disused airport a fleet of big-bellied helicopters stands ready, some thumping off now and then into the scrubby hills which press down on the little town. Dili is, meanwhile, launch pad for Suharto's policy of "Indonesianising" occupied East Timor by illegally bringing in scores of Indonesians. The red and white Indonesian flag flies everywhere.

"When the Portuguese were here they'd fly the flag on Sundays. Indonesians fly the flag every day," said Armando, the bus driver. They fly it guiltily, however. Attempting to photograph a flag-raising ceremony at a parade ground in Baucau, I was stopped by an Indonesian officer in the elite special forces, the so-called Pink Berets. "It's not permitted," he giggled in nervous English.

During my stay in Dili my room was searched and I was often followed.

Portuguese, once the language of the Timorese elite, and a link to the world beyond Indonesia is in decline. The Indonesians, seizing on the woeful neglect of education in the Portuguese era, have built many schools and colleges but have insisted the medium should be Bahasa, the lingua franca of Indonesia. Only one college still teaches in Portuguese.

Tetum, the indigenous language, is not used in commerce or administration. Much of the commerce of Dili is in the hands of the Javanese incomers who are seen everywhere behind shop counters and in government offices. "They come off every boat," says Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, the Catholic bishop. "In 10 years Dili will cease to be a Timorese town, if things go on as they are."

While Timorese resist, the world's chanceries look the other way, trying not to upset Suharto but, neither altogether accepting the legality of the occupation. The exception is Australia, Timor's nearest neighbour, whose government recently signed an agreement which purports to divide Timor's offshore mineral rights between Canberra and Jakarta. Senator Gareth Evans, Australian Foreign Minister, recently said the oil wealth alone could be worth "zillions."

I ask the young man I have called Aurélio and his friends about the deal. "Os australianos são ladrões," they explode. "The Australians are thieves. They are taking the people's wealth."

Portugal, whose stance is that it is still by rights the administering power and is attempting to give Timorese the right of self-determination, contests the Australian deal and is suing the Canberra government in the International Court of Justice in The Hague, in effect for theft.

Short-term, Timorese hopes are pinned on the UN and a planned Portuguese parliamentary delegation visit to Dili soon. The visit has been accepted in principle by Suharto as a way of demonstrating the island is "normalised", but no date has been fixed.

The Suharto regime knows it will be the focus of massive demonstration in occupied East Timor. For aging Suharto, occupied East Timor is vital to maintenance of an empire of 12,000 islands already showing signs of strain.

Irian Jaya, former Dutch New Guinea which Indonesia acquired after a dubious poll a few years after the Dutch surrendered the bulk of their East Indian empire in 1949, is in revolt. In West Sumatra, Muslim fundamentalism is combining with local separatist feeling to produce revolt against Jakarta.

If occupied East Timor were to go, the future of the world's fifth most populous country could be nearly as precarious as the USSR's. But Timorese, particularly the young, do not care.

As we parted by the now darkened paddy field Aurélio said: "If we resist they kill us. If we don't resist they still kill us. So we might as well resist."

Genocide is a word much overused in modern times for any old massacre. In East Timor it suits the circumstances perfectly.

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, the amendment offered by Chairman PELL and cosponsored by the senior Senator from Wyoming [Mr. WALLOP] is an attempt to clarify administration positions regarding violations of civil and political rights in East Timor.

This controversial area has been the scene of continuing political disturbances for years, and it is high time for the United States to help encourage a political solution.

We support the pending amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there be no further debate, the question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment (No. 878) was agreed to.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote.

Mr. HELMS. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

AMENDMENT NO. 879

(Purpose: To support democracy and self-determination in the Baltic States and the republics within the Soviet Union)

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Kansas [Mr. DOLE], for himself and Mr. SIMON, proposes an amendment numbered 879.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment is as follows:

SECTION 1. STATEMENT OF POLICY.

It is the policy of the United States—

(1) to support democratization within the Soviet Union and support self-determination, observer and other appropriate status in international organizations particularly the CSCE and independence for all Soviet republics which seek such status;

(2) to continue to support restoration of independence for Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania;

(3) to shape its foreign assistance and other programs to support those republics whose governments are democratically elected and to encourage democracy throughout the Soviet Union; and

(4) to strongly support peaceful resolution of conflicts within the Soviet Union and between the central Soviet government and the Baltic States and Soviet republics, condemn the actual and threatened use of martial law, pogroms, military occupation, blockades, and other uses of force which have been used to suppress democracy and self-determination, and view the threatened and actual use of force to suppress the self-determination of Soviet republics and the Baltic States as an obstacle to fully normalized United States-Soviet relations.

SEC. 2. REPORT TO CONGRESS.

Not later than 30 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of State shall submit to the Congress a comprehensive report on actual and threatened uses of force against the Baltic States, the Soviet republics, and autonomous regions within the Soviet Union. For 1992 and each subsequent year such a report shall be included as part of the annual country reports on Human Rights Practices prepared by the Department of State in compliance with section 116(d)(1) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I am pleased to join the distinguished Senator from Illinois [Mr. SIMON] in offering this amendment.

It is nearly identical to legislation we offered earlier this year, S. 860, to express our support for the process of democratization in the Baltic States and the Republics of the Soviet Union.

I do not believe that this issue really requires much more debate. The issues, and the position articulated in this amendment, have already been discussed and debated on the Senate floor many, many times.

Clearly, the Baltic States have taken historic steps to assert their independence—an independence we have long acknowledged. And there is nearly unanimous support in this body for their struggle.

Many of the constituent Republics of the Soviet Union have also asserted their sovereignty, and are at various places on the path to turn that intention into a reality. Again, the goals for which they are struggling enjoy wide support, both in the Congress and in the country at large.

Meanwhile, the Soviet Central Government is grappling with its own profound and protracted political crisis—the results of which are far from clear.

But what is clear is that the United States must be—and, equally important, must be seen to be—squarely on the side of freedom and free enterprise, for the Baltics and for the Republics of the Soviet Union.

We must do everything we can—in terms of direct pressure and moral suasion—to see that the Soviet central authority end its aggression, coercion, intimidation, and blackmail against those forces seeking self-determination and free markets.

We must do everything we can to urge all parties to put aside violent means to achieve their goals, and instead pursue them peacefully.

We must do everything we can, in our aid and trade policies, to support the movements for freedom in the Baltics and the Republics.

That is exactly what this amendment requires—that the United States take a stand consistent with our ideals and history, on the side of freedom.

It further requires reports on Soviet policies, and the situation in the Baltics and the Republics—so that the Senate will have all the facts, particularly insofar as the Soviets do use force or the threat of force to achieve their goals.

Adoption of this amendment could not be more timely. Our national policy has certainly been moving in the direction of a more direct assertion of our support for the movements for freedom in the Baltics and the Republics. The President's recent meeting with Russian President Yeltsin can be seen in that light.

More important, right now, President Bush is en route to Moscow for the summit. He will go on to Kiev, the capital of Ukraine—a stop that will surely be seen as one sign of our support for the principle of self-determination. Agreeing to this amendment as those event go forward will certainly amplify the message the President is delivering, of our support for freedom and free markets.

I hope all Senators will join in sending this important message, by supporting this amendment.

I think this amendment has been cleared on both sides of the aisle.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I strongly support this amendment offered by the Senator from Kansas. I do so particularly, as in the early fifties I remember being the Baltic desk officer in the State Department and we were doing what we could at that time to keep the spirit of freedom alive in those countries. Through the years, the United States has played a leading role in doing this, and I think this amendment is the evidence of a policy of longstanding.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there further debate on the amendment?

The Senator from North Carolina.

Mr. HELMS. The amendment is supported on this side as well.

Mr. PELL. There is support on this side of the aisle.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There being no further debate, the question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment (No. 879) was agreed to.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote.

Mr. PELL. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

AMENDMENT NO. 880

(Purpose: Requiring a report on the uses to be made of United States arrearage payments to the United Nations)

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from North Carolina [Mr. HELMS proposes an amendment numbered 880.

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment is as follows:

On page 9, line 22, insert the following new paragraph:

(3) None of the amounts authorized to be appropriated under paragraph (2) shall be disbursed to the United Nations or any affiliated organization until the President reports to the Congress the specific elements of the plan by which the United Nations, and each affiliated organization authorized to receive such funds, intends to expand or otherwise use such funds.

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, the pending bill, S. 1433, authorizes more than $370 million without knowing how it is going to be spent. This amendment, which I have just offered, is a modest effort to resolve a great mystery: How the U.N. system intends to spend the unearned windfall of so-called arrears from the U.S. taxpayers.

My amendment simply says it will permit the Congress to learn how these funds will be spent before these funds are obligated. It seems to me it will be a fair deal, certainly for the taxpayers.

Our colleague, the Senator from Kansas [Mrs. KASSEBAUM] has repeatedly sought information from the administration as to how the $370,876,000 authorized in this bill will be used by the United Nations and its affiliated agencies.

The administration has promised the Foreign Relations Committee that it will use its best efforts to discover an answer to this mystery. My amendment makes it easier for the administration to gather and report the answers.

Mr. President, my amendment requires disbursement of so-called arrearages to be conditioned on a report by the President that specifies how the United Nations intends to spend or otherwise use the funds. Without a doubt, Mr. President, the U.S. taxpayer demands to know and needs to know how the United Nations will spend the funds which Congress is generously providing in S. 1433.

The United Nations must realize that Congress desires to play a significant role in United States decisions about the United Nations's budget priorities. This amendment should assure constituents in North Carolina, and every other State, that Congress knows how the United Nations will use these funds.

Mr. President, I am told that the administration has no objection to this amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there debate on the amendment?

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I understand this amendment is acceptable to the administration. It reflects the approach the administration will be following with respect to the arrearages. I think it is a good amendment, and I am glad to support it from this side of the aisle.

Mr. HELMS. I thank the Senator.

Mr. WALLOP. Mr. President, I rise to express my increasing concern over the situation in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, the island territory which was invaded and forcibly annexed by Indonesia in 1975.

In previous years, Members of the Senate have expressed concerns on a range of humanitarian issues in East Timor, such as war-related hunger and human rights violations. There have been marginal improvements in some regards in East Timor. However, in light of new and disturbing reports of flagrant human rights abuses and the deteriorating humanitarian situation, I believe that further action is warranted. It is my hope that this amendment will spur such action.

Our resolution makes three statements with regard to policy toward

ast Timor. First, the resolution states that President Bush should urge the Government of Indonesia to take action toward ending human rights violations in East Timor and to permit full freedom of expression in East Timor.

Second, it states that the President should encourage the Government of Indonesia to facilitate the work of international human rights organizations and humanitarian relief organizations seeking to work in East Timor. Finally, it states that the administration should work with the United Nations and the Governments of Indonesia, Portugal, and other involved parties to develop policies to address the underlying causes of conflict in East Timor.

Mr. President, 1975 may seem rather long ago and East Timor may seem only a tiny island among the many that stretch along the Indonesian Archipelago. But this area of continuing conflict desperately deserves greater attention. It is time that the United States took a stronger role in seeing a political solution to the grave situation in East Timor.

With few notable exceptions, the world turned a blind eye to Indonesia's brazen aggression in 1975, when East Timor was a vulnerable little enclave left by the retreat of the Portuguese Empire. When Indonesia invaded and annexed East Timor, there was a shameful lack of condemnation from the world community. I hope that our actions here today are the beginning of change on that front.

Mr. President, Portugal ruled East Timor for 450 years, ended by Lisbon's 1974 revolution which brought immediate decolonizaton and, shortly thereafter, civil war in East Timor. But East Timor did declare independence on November 28, 1975; on December 7, 1975, Indonesia, the ruler of West Timor, invaded. The invasion lasted 1 day after President Ford and Secretary of State Kissinger left Jakarta. Sixteen years later, with some 200,000 people—a full third of the population—dead, our President would serve America's principles well by raising his voice, as he did in the gulf, against the brutal aggression in East Timor.

Although the United Nations condemned the violent actions of Indonesia's brutal dictator, General Suharto, the West was anxious not to upset a strategically important regime which had come to power in 1965. Absent any moral dissuasion from the West, Suharto flooded East Timor with troops, effectively breaking assurances by his foreign minister. And so the world could not know about the massacres that followed; the Indonesian military killed two British journalist, two Australians, and a New Zealander and expelled the Red Cross from East Timor. Visitors, too, were expelled and rigorously kept out for 15 years. And while information was limited during that time, visits of some reporters and relief organizations gave us disturbing evidence of the situation there.

Of the some 200,000 that were killed, some were killed in battle, some died in concentration camps into which Indonesians herded the peasants whose villages they destroyed. Some starved; others died of war-borne epidemics. And although General Suharto, still ruling after 26 years, recently decided to open East Timor to foreign visitors as a way to demonstrate "normality," the Indonesian Army is increasing pressure.

Reliable sources in East Timor relate stories of Indonesian forces and those under their control using razor blades to cut the faces of young East Timorese dissenters. Reports from Amnesty International in recent months detail torture, beatings, and other serious abuses of East Timorese. These, as well as other reports of atrocities, belie reports of improvements in the human rights situation in East Timor.

On the humanitarian front, there exist inordinately high rates of tuberculosis, malaria, malnutrition, and infant mortality in East Timor. Such problems are particularly worrisome when one recalls the catastrophic famine that occurred largely at the hands of the Indonesian military in the late 1970's.

In closing, Mr. President, let me say that we must make it clear to the Indonesian authorities that we are aware of and monitoring closely the situation in East Timor. The United States could be an effective and positive force in this region by seeking ways to insure that the Indonesian Government cooperate with private organizations, both secular and religious, that are in a position to help address these problems.

Additionally, I hope that the United States will be alert to any diplomatic openings that may present themselves in the future, with an eye toward a political solution that might end the needless suffering in East Timor and bring about true self-determination for the people of East Timor. I am keenly aware of the value of close relations with the Government of Indonesia. But it is precisely because of these close relations that we can have reason to believe that the Government of Indonesia would be responsive to these concerns.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment (No. 880) was agreed to.

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote.

Mr. PELL. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

AMENDMENT NOS. 881-886

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I send to the desk six amendments as follows: An amendment relating to microtechnology on behalf of Senator HELMS; an amendment relating to Boris Yeltsin on behalf of Senator SIMON; an amendment related to language training on behalf of Senator SIMON; an amendment relating to foreign service promotions on behalf of Senator SIMON; an amendment relating to employment of United States citizens at United States Embassies on behalf of Senator ROCKEFELLER; and an amendment relating to credit with the Government of Israel on behalf of Senator LIEBERMAN.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Hearing no objection, these six amendments will be considered en bloc. The clerk will report the amendments.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PELL] proposes amendments numbered 881 through 886 en bloc.

Mr. PELL. I ask unanimous consent that reading of these amendments be waived.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendments are as follows:

AMENDMENT No. 881

(Purpose: To amend the Arms Export Control Act)

At the appropriate place in the bill, and the following new section:

SEC. . AMENDMENTS TO THE ARMS EXPORT CONTROL ACT.

(1) Section 73(a)(1)(A) of the Arms Export Control Act is amended by inserting "acquisition," before "design,";

(2) Section 74(8)(B) of the Arms Export Control Act is amended by striking "countries where it may be impossible to identify a specific governmental entity referred to in subparagraph (A)" and inserting in lieu thereof "countries with non-market economies".

(3) Section 74(8)(B)(ii) of the Arms Export Control Act is amended by striking "aircraft, electronics, and space systems or equipment" and inserting in lieu thereof: "electronics, space systems or equipment, and military aircraft".

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, amendment No. 881 changes the missile technology provisions of the Arms Export Control Act to make it clear that the United States is prohibiting the acquisition of an actual missile system as well as the technology related to its design. The amendment also makes it clear that where nonmarket countries are using Government-owned companies to sell missile technology, the United States intends to sanction all the arms exporting entities, not just some fly-by-night outfit with a post office box. Finally, the amendment makes it clear that the sanctions are

against its own nationals, or other reliable means exist to verify that it is not making such preparations; and

(4) that government is making restitution to those affected by any use of chemical or biological weapons in violation of international law or by any use of lethal chemical or biological weapons against its own nationals.

(d) WAIVER.—

(1) CRITERIA FOR WAIVER.—The President may waive the application of any sanction imposed with respect to a country pursuant to this section—

(A) after the end of the 12-month period beginning on the date on which sanctions were initially imposed on that country, if the President determines and certifies to the Congress that such waiver is important to the national security interests of the United States; or

(B) at any time, if the President determines and certifies to the Congress that there has been a fundamental change in leadership and policies of the government of that country.

(2) REPORT.—In the event that the President decides to exercise the waiver authority provided in paragraph (1), the President shall so notify the Congress not less than 20 days before the waiver takes effect. Such notification shall include a report fully articulating the rationale and circumstances which led the President to exercise that waiver authority.

(e) CONTRACT SANCTITY.—

(1) SANCTIONS NOT APPLIED TO EXISTING CONTRACTS.—(A) A sanction described in any of paragraphs (4) through (9) of subsection (a) shall not apply to any activity pursuant to any contract or international agreement entered into before the date of the presidential determination under section 441(a)(1) unless the President determines, on a case-by-case basis, that to apply such sanction to that activity would prevent the performance of a contract or agreement that would have the effect of assisting a country in using chemical or biological weapons in violation of international law or in using lethal chemical or biological weapons against its own nationals.

(B) The same restrictions of subsection (p) of section 6 of the Export Administration Act of 1979 (50 U.S.C. 2405), as that subsection is so redesignated by the preceding provisions of this Act, which are applicable to exports prohibited under section 6 of that Act shall apply to exports prohibited under subsection (a)(7) or (a)(8) of this section. For purposes of this subparagraph, any contract or agreement the performance of which (as determined by the President) would have the effect of assisting a foreign government in using chemical or biological weapons in violation of international law or in using lethal chemical or biological weapons against its own nationals shall be treated as constituting a breach of the peace that poses a serious and direct threat to the strategic interest of the United States, within the meaning of subparagraph (A) of section 6(p) of that Act.

(2) SANCTIONS APPLIED TO EXISTING CONTRACTS.—The sanctions described in paragraphs (1), (2), and (3) of subsection (a) shall apply to contracts, agreements, and licenses without regard to the date the contract or agreement was entered into or the license was issued (as the case may be), except that such sanctions shall not apply to any contract or agreement entered into or license issued before the date of the presidential determination under section 441(a)(1) if the President determines that the application of such sanction would be detrimental to the national security interests of the United States.

Subtitle C—Reporting Requirements

SEC. 1061. PRESIDENTIAL REPORTING REQUIREMENTS.

(a) REPORTS TO CONGRESS.—Not later than 90 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, and every 12 months thereafter, the President shall transmit to the Congress a report which shall include—

(1) a description of the actions taken to carry out this title, including the amendments made by this title;

(2) a description of the current efforts of foreign countries and subnational groups to acquire equipment, materials, or technology to develop, produce, or use chemical or biological weapons, together with an assessment of the current and likely future capabilities of such countries and groups to develop, produce, stockpile, deliver, transfer, or use such weapons;

(3) a description of—

(A) the use of chemical weapons by foreign countries in violation of international law,

(B) the use of chemical weapons by subnational groups,

(C) substantial preparations by foreign countries and subnational groups to do so, and

(D) the development, production, stockpiling, or use of biological weapons by foreign countries and subnational groups; and

(4) a description of the extent to which foreign persons or governments have knowingly and materially assisted third countries or subnational groups to acquire equipment, material, or technology intended to develop, produce, or use chemical or biological weapons.

(b) PROTECTION OF CLASSIFIED INFORMATION.—To the extent practicable, reports submitted under subsection (a) or any other provision of this title should be based on unclassified information. Portions of such reports may be classified.

PELL AMENDMENT NO. 877

Mr. PELL proposed an amendment to the bill S. 1433, supra, as follows:

Section 234 is amended by striking subsection (b), (c), (d), and (e) and inserting in lieu thereof the following—

(b) BROADCASTS IN KURDISH.—As soon as practicable, but not later than six months after the date of enactment of this Act, the Director of the United States Information Agency shall establish, through the Voice of America, a service to provide Kurdish language programming to the Kurdish people. Consistent with the mission and practice of the Voice of America, these broadcasts in Kurdish shall include news and information on events that affect the Kurdish people.

(c) AMOUNT OF PROGRAMMING.—As soon as practicable but not later than one year after enactment, the Voice of America Kurdish language programming pursuant to this section shall be broadcast for not less than one hour each day.

(d) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.—In addition to funds otherwise available under section 231 of this Act, there are authorized to be appropriated to the Voice of America for purposes of carrying out this section $1,000,000 for fiscal year 1992 and $1,000,000 for fiscal year 1993.

(e) PLAN FOR A KURDISH LANGUAGE SERVICE.—Not later than three months after enactment of this Act, the Director of the United States Information Agency shall submit to the chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and to the Speaker of the House of Representatives a report on progress made toward implementation of this section.

(f) HIRE OF KURDISH LANGUAGE SPEAKERS.—In order to expedite the commencement of Kurdish language broadcasts, the Director of the United States Information Agency is authorized to hire, subject to the availability of appropriations, Kurdish language speakers on a contract not to exceed one year without regard to competitive and other procedures that might delay such hiring.

(g) SURROGATE HOME SERVICE.—Not later than one year after the date of enactment of this Act, the Chairman of the Board for International Broadcasting shall submit to the chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and the Speaker of the House of Representatives a plan, together with a detailed budget, for the establishment of a surrogate home service under the auspices of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty for the Kurdish people. Such surrogate home service for the Kurdish people shall broadcast not less than two hours a day.

PELL (AND OTHERS) AMENDMENT NO. 878

Mr. PELL (for himself, Mr. WALLOP, Mr. KERRY, Mr. MOYNIHAN, Mr. SIMON, Mr. LEVIN, and Mr. DURENBERGER) proposed an amendment to the bill S. 1433, supra, as follows:

At the appropriate place in the bill, add the following new section:

SEC. .

(a) FINDINGS.—The Congress finds that—

(1) at least 100,000 individuals out of a population of nearly 700,000 perished in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor between 1975 and 1980, as a result of war-related killings, famine, and disease following the invasion of that territory by Indonesia;

(2) Amnesty International and other international human rights organizations continues to report evidence in East Timor of human rights violations, including torture, arbitrary arrest, and repression of freedom of expression;

(3) serious medical, nutritional, and humanitarian problems persist in East Timor;

(4) a state of conflict continue to exist in Eact Timor; and

(5) the governments of Portugal and Indonesia have conducted discussions since 1982 under the auspices of the United Nations to find an internationally acceptable solution to the East Timor conflict;

(b) STATEMENT OF POLICY.—It is the sense of the Congress that—

(1) the President should urge the Government of Indonesia to take action and to end all forms of human rights violations in East Timor and to permit full freedom of expression in East Timor;

(2) the President should encourage the Government of Indonesia to facilitate the work of international human rights organizations and other groups seeking to monitor human rights conditions in East Timor and to cooperate with international humanitarian relief and development organizations seeking to work in East Timor; and,

(3) that the administration should work with the United Nations and the governments of Indonesia, Portugal, and other involved parties to develop policies to address the underlying causes of the conflict in East Timor.

DOLE (AND SIMON) AMENDMENT NO. 879

Mr. DOLE (for himself and Mr. SIMON) proposed an amendment to the bill S. 1433, supra, as follows: